THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, NOVEMBER 21, 1850.

DO The subscribers to the Era in Cincinnati, as their erms expire, will be called upon by our Agent, Mr. John kirman, to whom they will make payments, nge, as he settles the postage bills for all the packages of the Era sent to that place. The arrangements we made there for the delivery of the paper have put an end to the complaints with which we were formerly troubled and making the cost of the paper to the subscribers no greater than before, are very generally acceptable to our patrons. We hope to have an increase in our list in that

SCHEMES IN REGARD TO FUGITIVES-VARIOUS VIEWS PRESENTED.

We have denounced the Fugitive Bill as a Disunion measure. It was originated by men in favor of a dissolution of the Union, who declared, while urging the bill, that they did not believe it would be efficacious, and stubbornly resisted all attempts to make it less odious to the People of the free States. They knew that it would exasperate the North, and cause disaffection to the Union in that section, and that its failure to be carried out would increase the irritation of the South, and dispose it to look more favorably on their disorganizing schemes. Had they aimed alone at providing the best means for the reclamation of slaves, they would have modified the bill so as to make it at least tolerable to the North. Sagacious legislators, in attempting to secure a certain object, will be careful to consult the state of public sentiment, framing their measures so that, if they cannot secure its active support, they may at least evade its active opposition

We cannot better expose the use the Disunionists are siming to make of this miserable law. than by copying the following article from the Charleston Mercury. To rend the North and destroy the Union are the objects boldly avowed :

TO THE SLAVE OWNERS OF THE SOUTH, " Fortiter in re suaviter in modo

If it be true that thirty thousand fugitive slaves are in the non-slaveholding States, there cannot be much difficulty in applying the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Act of Congress, in a sufficient number of cases, to test effectually the force of the Federal-Government, in every antislavery State in the Union. The following sug-In each Southern State the several District

Southern Rights Associations may combine, by constituting a general committee for each State. have run away within the ten years should report their names and descriptions of their personal appearance, together with any information which might aid in the discovery of their present 3. These reports should be laid before the

general committee of the State.

4. Each general State Committee should appoint an agent, with instructions to travel through the non-slaveholding States, and collect all the information, to be there found, concerning the fugitive slaves. Reports showing their names. personal appearance, location, and history, should e made by these agents to the general Committees appointing them.
"5. By comparing the reports of the owners

with those of the agents, many fugitive slaves would soon be identified, and their owners, advised and aided by the Associations, could proceed to reclaim them according to the forms of the act of Congress.

6. The enforcement of this law, with the res-

toration of Southern property, or the rending of society at the North, by the persevering resolution to test the strength of the United States Government in a conflict with fanaticism, is an alternative worthy of those who associate for the protection of Southern rights.

47. Whenever the issue is made, those who

have an interest in the preservation of property, by the maintenance of law, will have to defend projecty in slavery, or abandon the law and peril their own security.

"S. Fastion and insurrection will probably

United States Marshal of New York, are shrink-ing from their sworn duty; and the impotence of the Union, except against the South, will be mani-9. The selfish politicans and their parties.

who have coaxed and patted Abolitionists for their votes, will find, like Action, the dogs at "10. Seward and Hale must either lead the

revolution, or be its victims. Anti-slavery, being only the present war cry of the party opposed to law and social order, will be forgotten when once disorder and the reign of terror begins. "11. From the North will come disunion and

New York, who scoff at the State sovereignty, must have the insurrectionary Government triumphant mobs.

12. Against those will the Star Spangled Banner of the Union' in Southern hands be waved, sustained by the cannon and the sword; or far from their intestine anarchy and civil broils, will the South pursue the prosperous path of peace, under the flag which will float over their Scirio,"

All this is simply diabolical. South Carolina is no further concerned in this business, than as she may wish to exasperate the two sections of the country against each other. The truth is, in the South generally, the Fugitive Slave Question is agitated more for political effect, than because the loss of slaves is greatly cared for. The fugitives who by their own efforts escape from bondage, would prove agitators of the most dangerous kind, if caught and taken back. Men who have once realized what it is to be free, if reduced again to slavery, will constitute elements of discontent and rebellion in the slave population. The slavehold-

Again: there are thousands of runaways at this time in the slave States. How many are haunting the Dismal Swamp, and the bayous about New Orleans, and deserted plantations all through the South! Why is not agitation got up about them? Why do not the slaveholders complain of the indifference with which the People of the South regard their slave hunts? Southern gentlemen are not accustomed to volunteer or yield their services as slave-catchers. They are almost as passive as the People of the North when slave hunters are on foot, almost as little disposed to join in the hue and cry.

It is extreme folly to legislate against Public Sentiment, or much ahead of it. That which gives Law its vitality, especially in this country, is public opinion. Even legislation for good objects has been found fruitless, when too far in advance of the Sentiment of the People on whom it has to operate. Much less can laws accomplish their object, when it is one repugnant to every instinct of the Public Mind. Lawyers may prove them constitutional; the judges may deliver solemn charges against disobedience to them; ministerial and executive officers may all be prepared to enforce them-but everything will be apt to fail of success. To nullify them practically, it is not necessary forcibly to resist them, or to raise mobs against their enforcement. Simple passive nonconformity will render them impotent. You can not force People anywhere, North or South, to catch runaway slaves; and until you can convince the slaveholder himself that to run away from bondage is a crime, you never can remedy the evil of which they complain. In the case of fugitives from justice, every man who desires to see his property and family secure, and hates crime, is interested in exposing the criminal to detection and seizure. No such motives operate in the case of fugitive slaves. Public feeling is never against them-the general sympathy is always with them. This cannot be helped. Human legislation can not change the heart - cannot awaken sympathy with Slavery or abhorrence of Liberty. The running away of slaves is then an unavoidable "evil" in a slave country, because a necessary incident of the system of slavery. When men's laws are against Nature, they must not complain if sometimes Nature's laws assert their supremacy.

Certainly such considerations must have deter mined the phraseology of that clause of the Constitution, so often quoted, in regard to the reclamation of fugitives from service or labor. No active duty is imposed upon the States. Simple neutrality is required, as between the Slave and Slave Claimant. The language is unmistakable:

"No person held to service or labor in one der the laws thereof, escaping into auother, shall, in consequence of any law or regula. on their uglin tion therein, be discharged from such service or rather merry

labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the arty to whom such service or labor may be due.

We said that no duty was required by the Constitution from the State in which a fugitive is found, except that of simple neutrality; and, in the light of the clause just quoted, we now add, this duty is rather implied than declared. It was held by eminent jurists, for many years, that the duty of delivering up a fugitive was imposed on the States, and that it was for them to make suitable provision for the surrender. But the Supreme Court in the Prigg case decided otherwise. It held that the States had no right to pass laws to carry out this clause of the Constitution, but that the power to do so resid d exclusively in Congress. This decision left the States positively nothing to do; and as Congress cannot go beyoud the Constitution, any law it taar pass rejuiring the citizens of the State, to interpose directly or indirectly in exposing, arresting, or delivering up fugitive slaves, is extra-constitutional, null and void.

Nov, when it is recollected that the principal lifficulty in the way of reclaiming fugitives in a section inhabited by ten millions of freemen, grows out of the absence of all sympathy and cooperation on the part of these freemen, the South must see that the "evil" it complains of is in most cases beyond the reach of any law that Congress can constitutionally enact. The hearts of the People must be changed, so that they shall feel as anxious for the arrest of a fugitive from injustice as they now feel for the arrest of a fugitive from justice, before it can be remedied. This, of course, is an impossibility. The spectre of Disunion itself cannot work so radical a revolution as this

Meantime, all that the law can do, has been lone. Under the old law of 1793, when a fugitive slave could be caught and taken before the proper tribunal, the process being sufficient, he was delivered up; and whenever offenders against that law were detected and arraigned, they were punished. There was no remiseness on the part of the proper tribunals, there was no interference by the States; there was no resistance by the citizens-or, if there was, they were invariably made to suffer the penalty.

The new law, in attempting to accomplish nore, will fail of accomplishing as much. The very stringency of its provisions renders them poperative. But its supporters seem infatuated. With the fact staring them in the Goe, that it is odious beyond measure in the eyes of the People of the North, they appear anxious to rate the detectation is which it is bold. nstead of waiting to see whether the excitement will not subside, and attempting, quietly and guardedly to avail themselves of its provisions, they dispatch slave-hunters in hot haste into the free States, and announce, as above, formidable, all-comprehensive schemes for wholesale seizures, to be effected by a universal crusade against the North. If their object be to make the law perfeetly impotent, to drive the North to madness, to provoke bloody collisions, and bring about a dissolution of the Uniou, the policy is admirably devised. Otherwise, its projectors are no better than crazy people.

We close by submitting another presentation of the case to our Southern fellow-citizens. Now, in the Union and under the Constitution, the obstacles you encounter in the reclamation of fugitives in the free States are, the restrained hostility of a small body of free colored people, the active sympathies with the fugitives, of a few white persons, and the mere passivity of the great majority of the citizens of these States : but the State Laws and authorities are not against you, and you have in your favor the laws of Congress, administered by willing Courts, and executed by unreluctant officers.

threaten Disunion, should the Fugitive Law. than the Law of '93, be repealed. Of course, such a step would be taken as a remedy for the difficulties now existing in the way of the reclamation of fugitives. How then would you stand as it respects this matter, out of the Union and without the Constitution?

The Slaveholders, with the whole power of the Union to back them, cannot reclaim a slave from the soil of Canada. In the event of Disunion, the North would be Canada brought down upon the borders of the Slave States. Laws for the slaveholding Representatives labored in deliberat Active hostility to such reclamation would not be would pervade all portions, and take the form of positive laws, making the seizure of any person on the soil as a slave, a felony.

What would the South have gained by Dis is too plain to be misunderstood by the anot un-

"A FEW REFLECTIONS ON A NORTHERN TOUR."

The editor of the Richmond (Va.) Examiner. who lately travelled at the North, favors his readers with " A few Reflections on a Northern Tour." He thinks the interior country of New England and New York, unproductive. In the valley of the Genesee, and in the low lands of the Connecticut, there are rich lands, but nowhere else! All the rest is poorer "than the poorest and most thoroughly worn down county in Virginia." "The miserable crops of nubbins it produces would be insufficient for the most frugal The peculiarities of landscape which catch

the traveller's eye as he is whirled past upon the roads of granite and iron, and the boulders of dark stone, which rest more thickly upon those barren fields than the stumps of a new clearing; the rivulets without banks, lying like snakes on the surface of the swampy meadows; the stinted larch and pine; the absence of all large trees higher than the knee; the hamlets and villages, unbroken by the chateau and plantation of a slaveholding country; the perfection of the double tracked, heavy railed ines of locomotion; and the magnificence of the ities which they connect."

In "these last" the tourist finds the secret of Northern prosperity and power:

"It is the country of trade, and not of produc tion. It has been built by laws, and not by nature. The action of the Federal Government has thrown into this country the vast commerce of the Union. Through the navigation acts they get the handling of all the products of the South, and in the handling they necessarily touch the profits. Hence the North, which has no land, has all the money What need have they for a rich soil and a genis un, so long as the Federal Government subjects to them the glorious South, and farms for them the boundless fields of cotton and the widespreading plantations of sugar? Those citizens and tell the tale too well to be ever misunderstood.

The Navigation Laws were intended for the

encht of the whole country. The materials of ship building abound in the South as well as the North. The Southern people were equally free with the Northern to build ships, avail themselves of the benefits of the Navigation laws, and engage in trade and commerce. If they did not do it, it was their own fault, not that of the Federal Government. It is not for that Government to meddle with the industrial pursuits of the that the Democracy of the North is the natural country, and instruct people how to secure the ally of Slavery, and that their interests can be most profitable investment of their labor and capital. Although the Navigation Laws held out inducements to Southerners to engage in commerce, and do their own carrying trade, they preferred, or were compelled by the nature of their labor system, to direct their attention and capital to planting; and the Northern people, having changed hands, and is now the exponent of the nothing but "nubbins" to live upon, took to salt water and steam. That's all. The Federal Government is blameless.

Now, if the people of the South desire to go ahead of the North in manufactures and commerce, let them adopt the free labor system, and, without any change in the action of the Federal Government, they would soon find Labor as diversified, and Capital as ingenious, enterprising, and cumulative, as they are at the North.

As our Yankee friends have a pretty good opinion of themselves, the following observation on their ugliness will be apt to make them feel

"The people who inhabit this sterile, but wealthy region, are inferior to those of this and the neighboring States in stature and in counte In truth, it is inhabited by a race of singular ugliness. Never before did the writer see so many people of both sexes with so few specimens of physical beauty, as during a three weeks' tour in New England. Beautiful women may sometimes be seen in the streets of New York; and through the villages and steamboats of the Hudson, healthy faces and good figures are oc-casionally to be met with. But in New England itself, the red and white of a Northern complex-ion is not sufficient to reconcile the beholder to the decidedly ugly physiognomies which they cover, or to the mean figure and ungraceful striding gait which accompany both. Their man-ners are in every sense tad; either huffish and vulgar, or cringing and fidgetty; seldom possess-ing, even among the wealthiest and best educated classes, that repose and self-respecting courtesy which mark the same rank at the South. The cause is evident. In the North there are no gentry-no class living apart and upon their own paternal estates, handing down their means without much increase or serious diminution to their children, possessing time to inform their intellect, to cultivate the amenities of life, and to learn the sentiment of self-respect. The subdivision of the land, the absence of slaves for menial labor and, more than all, the commercial character and occupation of the whole country, forbid the exist-

As an offset to this, we have heard Northern tourists suggest that Americans in the South are gradus!ly losing the distinctive character of the Anglo-Saxon race, and becoming a kind of colored people; and then the way some of them abuse Southern manners, Southern houses, Southern eating and drinking, would excite the amazement of our cotemporary of the Examiner

Living, as we do, on the line between them, it is hard to say which we like better, when they behave themselves like good Christians.

THE INFLUENCES TO WHICH CONGRESS AND THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE ARE SUBJECTED IN WASHINGTON.

In this Republic of twenty-two millions of people, the number of actual slaveholders, at the largest estimate, cannot exceed three hundred thousand-or, one in seventy-three of the white population.

The non-slaveholding States embrace two-thirds of the white people of the country, and more than | character of the new project; two-thirds of its wealth and intelligence.

The anti-slavery sentiment, which prevailed a the date of the Revolution in all the States then existing, except Georgia and South Carolia, now pervades the population of the sixteen, or, counting Delaware, the seventeen free States, and is cherished by large numbers of the citizens of the fourteen slaveholding States.

A person, ignorant of our history and unfamiliar with the workings of powerful Class Interests, apprised, for the first time, of the facts just stated, would naturally expect that the domestic institutions at the seat of Government of such a Republic would be in harmony with the ideas and interests of the vast majority of its citizens; and that the central Public Press would reflect the public sentiment of the great nonslaveholding population.

What are the facts? We find existing in the Capitol of the nation, a system repugnant to the feelings and opinions of at least two thirds of the white people of the country-the direct antagonist of their domestic institutions. It is sustained here, not because the interests of the city and District require it-they would be promoted by its abolition-not because the People here desire itif at liberty to declare their opinion, four-fifths of them would require its removal-but because its legalization by Congress, in this spot, gives sanc-This is your position in the Union. But you tion and support to the system as maintained by the controlling, to a great extent, the deliberations of the National Legislature.

Politics must be shaped and colored more colored by social influences. The character and institutions of the community in which a Legislative body deliberates must affect its decisions. "This is our own soil," said Mr. Clingman, triumphantly, when defying the Northern majority in Congress; and there was not a man of that majority who did not at once feel the disadvantage under which nonreclamation of fugitives would exist no longer, ingupon slaveholding soil. The genius of the place was against them. If they spoke for freedom, hosconfined to small portions of the population, but tile faces frowned upon them from the gallery-Loyalty to their constituents was apt to be punished, at Washington, with social proscription

Let us advert to another significant fact. From the organization of the Federal Government to union? We need not add another word: the case the time when the National Era was established here, four years ago, the Political Press at Washingto, no matter what Parties representing, was the organ of the Slaveholding Interest. It never represented or defended anti-slavery, or, as they are sometimes called, Northern Principles. One Administration succeeded another-Parties rose and fell-but through all vicissitudes of Federal, Democratic, Whig, and "Locofoco" rule, the Political Press in Washington maintained unalterabie allegiance to the Slave Power. It might disregard, defy, affront the Sentiment prevailing among the millions of non-slaveholders, respecting Slavery, but it was always respectful and amenable to the Sentiment of the few hundred thousand slaveholders. Whatever other interests it might neglect, it was always prompt to defend Slavery against all assaults, direct or indirect, come from what quarter they might.

The establishment of our paper was the begining of a new era in Washington. For the last four years, the Anti-slavery Sentiment of the Republic, a sentiment which was cherished by its founders, and now pervades the masses of the People of this country, has had at least a weekly organ though which it could find voice and vindication. But, even now, look at the odds in favor of Slavery. Last week we sent out a Circular to our sub-

scribers, from which we take the liberty of republishing the following remarks: Five leading papers are now printed in the City of Washington, representing as many different

classes of Ideas The National Intelligencer represents preeminently the Conservatism of the country. It reveres the Past, fears to disturb the Present, looks suspiciously upon all Reforms, and abhors sgitation, especially on the subject of Slavery. It rejects the Anti-Slavery sentiment, and, without being a partisan of Slavery, condemns all who

would question its pretensions or resist its de-

mands. The Washington Union was established under the auspices of Mr. Polk, by Thomas Ritchie, of Virginia. It assumes to be the central organ of the Democratic Party, but is a supporter of Democracy only so far as it does not conflict with Slavery. Without advocating that system on abstract grounds, it urges its most extravagant pretensions-demands for it supreme considerationdenounces, vilifies, abuses, all who oppose it. It is the organ of those slaveholders, who believe best promoted through the Democratic organiza-

The Republic was got up to sustain the Administration of General Taylor, and, towards the close of his career, was tolerant to Anti-Slavery men. Since the accession of Mr. Fillmore, it has policy of Mr. Webster, and the organ of Whig Hunkerism. In bitterness of invective against Anti-Slavery men of all classes, it rivals the The Southern Press was commenced last winter

by a Committee of Members of Congress from the South, of extreme opinions; and its Editors are avowed Disunionists. It advocates Slavery upon its merits, and insists upon a Dissolution of the Union as the only effectual means of maintain ing the independence of the South. The first three of these journals are Party pa

pers; but they countenance the union of the Hunkers of all parties for the purpose of sup-

the condition of the three million slaves of this country, is not and ought not to be an article in either the Whig or Democratic creed. The fourth journal is against all parties as at present organized, and urges the policy of uniting the South in one great Sectional Party against the

North. All these papers, with their three-fold issues, daily, tri-weekly, and weekly, wage war against the Anti-Slavery movement, and give no quarter to its supporters. They blazon the words and acts of pro-slavery members of Congress, attempt to put down Anti-Slavery members by cold neglect or unscrupulous misrepresentation and proscription, and to bring such a pressure of influences to bear on the National Legislature and the Executive, as to make them subservient to the requirements of slaveholders. While the Slave Interest has four organs to

maintain its pretensions, three of them liberally

endowed with Executive patronage, and the

fourth with a fund furnished by slaveholders, the Cause of Freedom has but one organ, and that, a weekly, carefully excluded from all Government ence of such a class—necessary to give the tone patronage, and relying alone upon its own subof manners and of morals as well, to which allu- scriptions for support. The Notional Ere is the scriptions for support. The National Era is the only paper at the seat of the Federal Government which represents the Free Sentiment of the North which advocates the rights and interests of the non-slaveholders of the country against the usurpations of the Slave Power; which holds that all parties, in a Republic founded on the doctrine of Human Rights, should make that doctine primary and fundamental in their creed and policy which contends that all political questions and organizations should be held subordinate to the great question of Personal Freedom; which is an advocate at once of Liberty and the Union, and seeks Peace and Harmony, not by concession to Wrong, but by enforcement of Right; which, while maligning no member of Congress on sectional grounds, sustains specially those who are devoted to the Cause of Freedom, and labors to direct upon the National Legislature and Executive the Anti-Slavery Sentiment of the country.

Since the foregoing was written, the Prospec tus of a new Daily, styled " The Constitution," to be published in this city, has appeared in the newspapers. The following extracts show the

" Evil influences from abroad have found their way amongst them, and smothered the flames which ought never to subside in American bo fatuus has been held up as a light to a better prosperity; in another, the moral sentiment has been stimulated to monomania, with the design of effecting collision between the North and the South, and dissolution of the American Union. Even now, the missionaries of ruin, scenting blood from afar are hovering, like vultures, in the hope of a con

"It is high time, therefore, for patriotic Ameri cans-for men of both the old parties-to throw aside their old trammels and divisions, and to unite in one greater party, for the salvation of the country. It is high time that they should wake from their false security, and look their real danger in the face; to reassert their true American character, and resolve, with an energy never to be relaxed, that no foreign or domestic stay the course of their country's glorious des

It will be the earnest purpose of ' The Constitution' faithfully to represent the sentiments of the on party. It will recognise no man as a Whig o as a Democrat; but every one as a friend or a foe i the Union, the Constitution, and the laws; and it wil advocate those measures and only those which the Union party will sanction."

It needs no wizard to tell what will be the course of this new paper. It will go for the party of a liberal constituency. which was lately organized under the auspices of represented by the Journal of Commerce and New which, while more barbarous, is less efficacious out the South, and secures to them the means of York Herald, the party of which Daniel Webster would desire to be the recognised head. Its policy in relation to Slavery will be precisely that of the Washington Republic.

Cannot the friends of Freedom understand

how difficult it is for the Representatives of nonslaveholding constituencies to do their duty in a place encompassed with such influences? Leaving out of view the National Era, what is there to encourage, what is there not to discourage them? We know the power of the Press-how it can make and unmake heroes; how it can disseminate Truth or a Lie; how it can mould or misrepresent Public Sentiment; how it can assuage or inflame Popular Excitements; how i can remove or strengthen Prejudice. The representative of a non-slaveholding constituency, when he takes his seat in Congress, finds himself at the mercy of four or five powerful and popular pro-slavery journals. If he manifest any spirit in carrying out the wishes of his constituents, he is denationalized-he is sectional-he is an agitator-he is a fanatic-he is an incendiary. The five journals may agree in nothing else but in disparaging, misrepresenting, or abusing him. And daily he finds upon his desk the issues of these journals, filled with extracts from the newspaper press, North and South, calculated to bewilder him with the illusion that Public Opinion is against him, and a horrible catastrophe is impending, which can only be averted by the success of measures, to resist which he was sent to Congress. To breast such influences, to see through them, to overcome them, requires more nerve and sagacity than falls to the lot of ordi-

See, too, the pressure brought to bear upon the Chief Executive. The President and his Cabi net advisers, unless they supply themselves with information from other quarters of the country cannot fail to be misled as to the Public Senti ment, and the state of things out of Washington. For example, a few days ago, as if by precencerted movement, the Republic and the Union each, on the same day, contained an exposition of affairs in the South, filling some four or five columns in each paper, calculated to alarm the Administration, and lead it to still further concession to the slaveholders. But, of the excitement at the North, of the public opinion in that section in opposition to the Fugitive Law. in vain you look for any fair exhibition in any of the journals in this city.

May the time speedily come when the influences here shall all be on the side of Freedom. when the atmosphere shall not be tainted with the miasm of Slavery, and when the organs o all parties shall be the advocates in truth of "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever."

MEAN WEIGHT OF MEN. IN RELATION TO

Dr. Hutchinson, in a recent work, has som rious calculations in relation to the mean weight of men of different heights. He examined nearly three hundred men, in the prime of life, capable of, and accustomed to, great muscular ex ertion, and the results of his observation are pre sented in the following table :

in Great Britain weighs fourteen

FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL - THIRD EDITION.

Just published and for sale by William Har Just published and for sale by William Har-ned, No. 61 John street, third story, the third edition of a 12mo pamphlet, 36 pp, entitled "The Fronzie Shave Bill; its unconstitutionality— with an account of the Seizure and Enslavement of James Hamlet, and his subsequent restoration to liberty." Price \$2 per hundred, and 5 cents a single copy. The pamphlet contains the names single copy. The pamphlet contains the names and post office address of all the members of the hill. House of Representatives who voted for the bill.

The first two editions of this pamphlet, 13,000 Slavery, we would always select those means best copies, have been disposed of in about three weeks.

Copies, have been disposed of in about three weeks.

pressing Auti-Slavery agitation, and hold that the The present edition has been re-written, and condoctrine of Human Rights, in its application to the unconstitutional matter—new arguments on the unconstitutionality of the Bill, notices of the Attorney General's opinion, and Judge Grier's letter, &c. The price per hundred is barely the cost. The friends of Freedom will, it is hoped, send their orders immediately for this sea-onable pamphlet, and cause it to be spread, broadcast over the whole country.

For the National Era. HOPE.

" Yet though pale Memory be seldom glad, A truer, fonder friend is she than Hope!" —" For Hope perpetually deferred sickens the heart It ceases not to mock."—CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH.

Ave. sick even to the death! Even to the giving up this mortal breath ; How many precious moments have I lost. On Hope's false billows tost?

" Hope anchoreth the soul;" But happily the grave is yet our goal; And hoping we descend to take our rest. We hope, and yet for what?

Because, forsooth, it is the mortal lot.

To fill the aching, pining heart with lies

And then ourselves despise I would not hope for wealth! That can recall no more my bosom's health; Though it might bring my false friends back again, Could it yet lull this pain?

Nor for affections fled! Ab, whither have the sunny wands rers sped ? Like Noah's dove, they've sought another shore They will return-no more!

Or, can Hope help me find The dew of youth, the freshuese of the mind, The buoyant heart, the beauty—can she call Back from the grave and pall? And health-oh precious boon!

Deprived of thee, the sick heart finds too soon The only earthly blessing it can crave So. I am Sorrow's child.

Left shivering lonely in the bleakest wild: And I will banish Hope, and with her, fears; Then farewell, too, my tears! With a defying brow, I can my painful future welcome now Hope lured me onward with her angel form,

Then bade me breast the storm ! But I will hope no more! Fair angel, on thy golden pinions scar; Dark, cold Despair a fitter guest should be What more would Hope with me?

"I call thee to the skies! Oh mortal, from thy cold despair arise! Though worn and sad thou fill'st a living tomb Rise to immortal bloom

"There, all that thou hast lost-Unfaling beauty, and a deathless mind-Thy treasures, thou shalt find! "There, on that peaceful shore,

My mission done-in that fair land above, Hope shall give place to Love!" The Wilds, February 6, 1850.

These sad alarms shall shake thy soul no more:

DISORDERLY PROCEEDINGS IN BOSTON.

The famous orator, George Thompson of England, many years ago lectured in this country on the subject of slavery, but, in consequence of the great excitement which then prevailed, was obliged to return to his home.

Since then he has been prominently engaged in the various reformatory movements of England-devoting himself to the removal of abuses in British India, to the repeal of the Corn Laws. and to the extension of the right of suffrage; and at this time he is a representative in Parliament Lately he arrived in Boston, with the intention

what the New York Evening Post styled, "the of making a short visit to his friends in this Haberdashers' Meeting" in New York, the party country. Desirous of doing him honor, as a dis- Massachusetts. The sceptre which has resided the choice of a United States Senator, but rec inguished anti-slavery m most eminent men in the Libere! Party of Great | from them ; and they must know whom they have Britain, and also of giving the public an opportunity of hearing for themselves a great orator, they planned a grand reception for him in Fancuil Hall, to take place last Friday evening.

At the time appointed, the Hall was filled to overflowing. His friends organized a meeting by by a packed Convention of the friends of the latappointing the usual officers, and Mr. Garrison then proceeded to welcome him in a prepared speech, the closing portion of which was interrupted repeatedly by a large number of persons who, it soon became evident, had assembled for the purpose of breaking up the meeting. At the close of his remarks, Wendell Phillips

voice with cheers for "Daniel Webster," "the country," "Jenny Lind," &c. Mr. Thompson made an effort to be heard, but groans for "John | For Samuel H. Walley (Webster Whig, Bull," yells, and hisses, compelled him to sit down. Attempts were made by other speakers to secure a hearing, but with no better success The mob, according to the newspapers, evinced no disposition to commit personal violence, but, some cried one thing, some another, some shouted some yelled, some greaned, and not a few fell to

The result was that the meeting was broken

The newspapers in this city rejoice at these proceedings, as furnishing evidence of devotion to the Union, and just indignation against foreign intrusion into our Domestic Concerns. We see nothing in them creditable to the good sense, or patriotism of the citizens of Boston.

A year or two ago, a feud sprang up between a British and an American actor, in New York. The partisans of the latter by noisy demonstrations interrupted a performance by Macready, and prevented his numerous admirers who had purchased tickets for the purpose of witnessing it, from indulging their own tastes. Such interference was universally denounced as intolerable persecution -- a violation of the rights of Macready the resolutions of the Whigs of that city, to seek bail required some consideration, his decision and of those who wished to see his acting; and to prevent its threatened repetition, the military of New York was ordered out, and the result was, numerous lives were sacrificed by the Mayor in his determination to secure the rights of those who had engaged an actor for their amusement and a theatre for his performance. We recollect well that the National Intelligencer then applauded the conduct of Mayor Woodhull, and rejoiced over the bloody suppression of mob vio-George Thompson, another Englishman, and

distinguished orator, appears in Boston. His admirers are anxious to witness a display of his eloquence. They engage Fancuit Hall. It is theirs for the night. They have a right to the in the House, 182 members against 170 Whigs. unmolested use of it. Those who do not sympathize with them can stay away. Those who attend are bound by every principle of right, by every rule of decorum, to behave themselves-to do nothing which shall disturb the peace, which shall infringe the rights of their fellow-citizens. Mr. Garrison and his friends have just as good a right to listen, undisturbed, to Thompson, as Washington Irving and his friends had to listen, unmolested, to Macready.

We are surprised that the Intelligencer, or any other journal that respects Law and Order, should appland, or even pass over in silence, the disgraceful proceedings in Boston.

License the mob in one case, and it will claim immunity in all cases. Men of all shades of belief must be protected in the enjoyment of their rights, so long as they obey the laws, or there is an end to the freedom and order of society. If Auti-Abolitionists, where they have the ascendency, may mob Abolitionists, the reverse will hold good-Abolitionists, where they have the ascendency, may mob their opponents. Entire toleration, uniform respect for the rights of Free Speech, is the only safe rule of any country. An opposite rule must lead to Despotism or Anarchy.

What the mission of Mr. Thompson may be this country, we do not know. It is our impression that he comes merely on a visit to his friends, and not for the purpose of lecturing on the subject of Slavery. In view of the state of things among us at the present time, we hope this is not his purpose. In endeavoring to regenerate Public Sentiment in this country on the Question of

to the subject itself. We do not think any lecture by so distinguished a foreigner as Mr. Thompson would be at this time productive of good; and we hope he will not expose himself to violence. At all events, for the sake of all that is of good report in republican institutions, let us not disgrace ourselves in the eyes of the world, by further scenes of popular violence. To those specially who have lately been magnifying the Majesty of the Laws, we commend their own exhortation Maintain the Laws. Let no right guarantied by the Laws be sacrificed-let not the peace and good order of society be outraged-so long as your fellow-citizens exercise their rights, though you may not be able to agree with them, though you may view their conduct with disapprobation, let them alone. You can use the Press-you can hold meetings-you can speak freely-you can pour out contempt, ridicule, or denunciation, just as you please If you go further, and commit violence, the presumption is, that the weight of reason is with your opponents, and that all your declamation of reverence for the laws is mere flummery.

THE ELECTION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The real question at issue in the recent election in Massachusetts was, whether the State should reaffirm her long-cherished opinions on the extension of slavery, and maintain the personal and constitutional rights of all classes of her citizens-or, following the lead of her late Senator, disavow those opinions, and actively support the Fugitive Slave act, at whatever risk to her own peace and honor, and the security of her

The result of the election shows the people of the State on one side, and their great Senator on the other. Massachusetts remains to-day what she was before that Senator's apostacy. place which he has left in the Senate of the United States will be filled by one who will obey her instructions and fully and fearlessly represent her sentiments and vindicate the rights of her citizens, and who will use all his moral and political influence to effect the repeal of the Fugitive Slave act, and to prevent the farther extension of sla-

Of the three members of Congress elected, only one of them-the representative of Boston-is a friend of Webster and Compromise. Fowler, in the 9th district, is reclected against the personal opposition and vote of Webster, who is a resident of that district, by a majority of between 2,000 and 3,000. Horace Mann, rejected by a packed Whig Convention, is triumphantly reelected on independent anti-slavery grounds. Duncan, in the 3d district, who voted against the Wilmot Proviso, and in favor of the claims of Texas upon a portion of the Territory of New Mexico, is defeated. falling in his own town 200 votes behind the Whig ticket for Governor and Lieutenant Governor. It may be set down as well-nigh certain that none but decided Free-Soil, anti-Webster men can be chosen from the seven vacant districts.

It is indeed a singular and not uninstructive coincidence, that the three great Northern Compromisers on the Slave Question, Webster, Dickinson, and Cass, are in a condition to condole with each other upon the votes of censure which their respective States have passed upon their action in the Senate at its late session. Let us not despair. The recuperative principle of democracy survives; the heart of the people is J.G.W.

RESULT OF THE ELECTION IN MASSACRU-

The Free Soil movement has revolutionized to thank for this overthrow. At the late election, three districts only suc

ceeded in electing Congressmen In the eighth, Mr. Mann, who had become noxious to Mr. Webster, was thrown overboard

The Whig friends of Mr. Mann, disgusted with the unfair proceedings, called another Convention and nominated him. He had been previously nominated by the Free Soil men. The People showed their appreciation of his integrity. independence, and ability, by electing him over attempted to speak, but the mob drowned his Walley the candidate of the packed Whig Convention, and over the Democratic candidate-giving him near three hundred majority.

and regular Whig nominee) - - -For Whittaker (Democrat) - -Scattering - - - -For Horace Mann (Ind. Free-Soiler) -6.805 Mann's anti-Webster majority . . . 2 270

A terrible rebuke to Mr. Webster. The issue vas distinctly made before the People of John Quincy Adams's district, and they have rendered their judgment in favor of Mr. Mann. Orin Fowler, another of the three candidates

elected, was the first Massachusetts Representative in the present Congress to deliver a speech in opposition to the views presented by Mr. Webster in his great speech in the Senate. The Free-Soilers showed their respect for his honesty and courage, by nominating him for reslection; and he also received the nomination of the Whigs. Mr. Appleton from Boston succeeds Mr. Eliot,

and he stands committed, if we understand it, by a modification of the Fugitive Law.

Judge Allen has failed of an election by over two thousand votes, there being two regular candidates, Whig and Democratic, in the field against him. Another trial, we trust will result in the return of a man, whose firmness, calm courage and wise counsel, are greatly needed in the present crisis.

There is no election in the Fourth district, the Free-Soilers, we regret to see, having failed to elect the accomplished Palfrey.

The Free Soil men and Democrats generally coalesced in the choice of members of the Legislature, and they have succeeded in obtaining 22 members of the Senate against 10 Whigs-and Seventy representatives remain to be chosen. Governor Briggs, one of the most popular men in the Commonwealth, in consequence of the dis-

repute in which the Webster influence has brought the Whig Perty, is defeated by a majority of seven thousand, Boutwell, the Democratic candidate, receiving nearly thirty-six thousand votes, and Phillips, the Free Soil candidate, nearly twenty-eight thousand. The election for Governor devolves now upon

the Senate, and that of United States Senator upon the Legislature, each branch voting sepa-The Constitution provides that when there is

no choice of Governor by the People, the House if four candidates have been voted for, shall se' lect the two highest, or if only three have been voted for, two of them, and send their names to the Senate, which shall then proceed to elect one

The final complexion of the House will depend upon the seventy-five towns in which there have been no elections. If the Coalition should carry a majority of them, it will of course be able to fil the Governorship, and Mr. Winthrop's place in the Senate, just as it may please. But, should the Whige obtain the ascendency in the House, while they will not be able to secure the election of Briggs as Governor or Winthrop se Senator they may prevent any Senatorial election, and send to the Senate, with the name of Governor Briggs, that of Phillips or Boutwell, at their op-

The most perplexing embarr

BEFORE AND AFTER THE ELECTION

The Free Soil men and the Democrats of Massachusetts before the late election generally coalesced in the support of the same candidates for the State Legislature. The object was, to secure an opposition majority in both branches, so that it might control the offices and policy of the State, and the choice of a Senator to succeed Mr. Webster in the United States Senate.

The coalitions were effected openly-no disguise or trickery was attempted. No principle it was believed, was sacrificed-for, on the few questions belonging to State policy, there was a oncurrence of opinion between the coalescing parties, and, in reference to the distinctive dec. trines of Free-Soilism, the Democrats of the State generally professed to occupy the same platform with the Free Soil men. The latter cared nothing about the State offices

but were determined that Massachusetts should never again be misrepresented in the United States Senate as it had been by Mr. Webster. The nature, extent, reasons, and object of the

coalitions, were all known to the public weeks before the election. The Washington Union knew all about them, but said nothing. Affecting excessive concern for the purity of the Democracy. it saw, without a word of rebuke or protest. De mocracy in the embrace of Abolitionism. Ever on the alert to bring to light combination between Free-Soilers and Whigs, and horrify the South with all the "disgusting" details, it fell asleep while strange and "unnatural" political combinations were afoot in Massachusetts, involving the immaculate virtue of the Democracy, and never awoke till they had been consummated, and had accomplished their end, in the overthrow of the Whig ascendency in the State Government. When the Democracy had gained all it could the Union suddenly started from it, slumbers as if to use its favorite comparison, it had been alarm ed by a fire bell at midnight, and its first word was, a protest against Democratic coalitions! Last Friday morning, five days after the election in Massachusetts, it devoted several columns to a solemn dissertation on the want of principle, and the impelicy of such coalitions. A single extract will show its spirit and meaning:

"And now shall it be said, when the loathsome reptile of abolition is about to be flung from the trembling hands of the Whigs, that it shall be nestled and warmed into life and energy in the bosom of the Democracy of any State of the Union? We would fain hope that no part of the Democracy of Massachusetts have determined to enter into any permanent alliance with this dan-gerous sect; we would fain hope that up to this time they have been misunderstood; but if, in a moment of weakness or delusion, they have harbored the thought of any political coalition, we pray them to snatch it from their hearts, and cast ese fanatics forth from their fellowship, as St. Paul shook the viper from his hand on the island of Melita. 'Can you touch pitch and not be de-filed?' is the solomn inquiry of one whose eye glanced through all disguises. We conjure our glanced through an disguises. We conjure our brother Democrats to bear this in mind through-out the whole Union: 'If ye intrigue, bargain, and coalesce with the Abolitionists and higher-law factions, ye become responsible for their doctrines and their acts. Ye have conferred on them power and importance, and will be arranged in history as politicians who would unfortunately and unwisely justify the means by the end. Would ye associate your destinies with revilers of the Con-stitution and of Washington, who are laboring to destroy the one and to heap odium on the other? re ye ready for this responsibility? That is to say-Brother Democrats of Massa-

chusetts, having accomplished all you could by the help of Abolitionists, as patriots and honorable men, it becomes you now, to put your heel upon them and grind them in the dust. True. it was understood in your previous arrangements, and they could not have been perfected without such a condition, that Free-Soilers were to have ollect, no faith is to be kept with heretics. N cessity of course required fair promises from you before the election ; patriotism and the Union now require that they should be broken. If this be not the advice of the Union, there is

no meaning in language. Perhaps some of its Democratic "brothers" in Massachusetts may be inclined to follow this honorable counsel; we do not believe there will be enough of that kind of creatures to insure the result aimed at by their high-minded counsellor. The Free-Soilers will of course take care of themselves and their cause They will have the power to compel fair-dealing, if there should be any demurring.

THE TRIAL OF W. L. CHAPLIN.

The case of W. L. Chaplin came up for trial on the 12th at Rockville, Montgomery county, Maryland, in the County Court, Present, Judge Brewer, absent, Judge Dorsey, and Wilkinson. There appeared for the prosecution, G. R. Richardson, Attorney General for the State, and R. J. Bowie; for the prisoner, Charles H. Pitts of Baltimore, D. Radeliff of Washington, and John Brewer of Montgomery county. "Mr. Pitts remarked to the Court that there

were seven indictments against William L. Chap lin; three, charging an assault and battery with an attempt to kill Messrs. J. H. Goddard, Wil-liam Smithia, and Richard Butts; two, larceny of the slaves of Messrs. Stephens and Toombs; and two others, charging the prisoner with assist ing the slaves to escape from their masters, con-trary to the act of Assembly of 1849. The object of the counsel of the prisoner at this time was to ask that he be bailed, and that the amount be fixed. All the cases, except the two last, were simply misdemeanors. The indictments, he believed, were returned to-day; the prisoner had had no time to prepare for his defence; and he asked that bail be allowed as a matter of right; and that the court would, in granting it, into consideration all the circumstances of the case, including those of the accused."

After some remarks from the counsel on both sides, Judge Brewer said that as the aplication for would be made known on the following morning

"On the meeting of the court on Wednesday Judge Brewer said that he had considered the application for bail made by the counsel of Wm L Chaplin on Tuesday. According to the practice of the court, bail could be allowed any time before cases are ready for trial. It was however, discretionary. But indictments have been found against the prisoner, and, unless some reasonable cause be assigned, the court could not entertain the application at present. The court would, however, as was customary, allow time to the counsel of the accused to prepare for trial, (they having asserted that they were not now ready.) and he was willing to listen to any suggestions why

there should be postponement or delay.

"There was a large number of persons in attendance. Excitement to the degree anticipated was not prevalent.
"During the trial of an appeal case

"The prisoner, Mr. Chaplin, was brought into Smith, of the Society of Friends, from New York, and by Mr. Cameron and Miss Gilbert. There was much confusion at this stage, the spectators rushing forward to get a view of the prisoner, who advanced to the desk of the clerk, and deposited with that officer seven several declaration in the following words, viz:

" STATE OF MARYLAND VS. W. L. CHAPLIN. In Montgomery County Court, Nov. Term, 1850

" And the said William L. Chaplin comes into court and suggests to the court that he cannot have a fair and impartial trial of the case in this court. He therefore prays the court to order and direct the record of its proceedings in the said case to be transmitted to the court of some adjouining county for trial.

"On this 13th day of November, 1860, person-ally appeared in court the said Wm. L. Chaplin.

and solemnly and sincerely declared and affirmed that the matters set forth in the aforegoing suggestion are true, to the best of his knowledge and belief.

A. L. Stonesteer, Clerk?

"The prisoner likewise asked for a change of venue on the other six cases, which was granted; and then he retired with his friends.

"Mr. Pitts, of counsel for William L. Chaplin, said that the trial could not take place until the next spring term; and he again made application to the Court to fix the amount of bail." Mr. Richardson endeavored to show that the Court, in fixing the amount of bail, should have

respect to the peculiarities of the case, and the deep interest felt in it by the South. " Mr. Pitts said that the case stands

as other cases stand under the laws of Maryland and the prosecution on the part of the State had no right to bring into the consideration of this

Slavery, we would always select those means best arise from a difference of the political complexion